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There is no cultivation of standing crops. Weeding is done by hand, usually by the women and children. The fields are sometimes fenced with posts and saplings bound crosswise with withes, somewhat like our own post and rail fences, but this seems to be rare. It is only resorted to in places where the wild pigs are numerous.

When the grain begins to ripen, members of the family are on guard day and night to drive away birds and wild pigs, whose nocturnal raids often cause serious damage. Cords with bits of cloth or leaves attached are sometimes suspended over the fields, but there seem to be no elaborate scarecrows comparable to those of Malaysia. Bamboo bull-roarers are often used to frighten away the birds, but this task is usually delegated to small boys armed with slings. They are very expert with these weapons and I have seen a boy bring down a bird no larger than a sparrow at twenty yards. At night the men keep guard with spears, to drive off pigs. Also, traps are set in their runs and at gaps in the fence.

The Menabe, like the Ikongo, sacrifice before beginning the harvest, but their method is slightly different. A post, called *fatotra*, is set up in the *lany* of each family. It is about 4 feet high and 2 or 3 inches in diameter (Fig. 23, k). The top is split in the form of a cross and little wedges inserted with their ends projecting almost horizontally, forming a small stand or platform about 6 inches across. The husband, not the wife, gathers the green rice and makes the *lango*. He places a little of it, on a piece of the leaf of the Traveler's Palm, on the *fatotra* and says: "Oh *Fahasivy* [ancestors], you have given us a good harvest. We give you this meal as your share." The neighboring Betsimisaraka make their harvest sacrifice in the same way, but mix rice chaff with the *lango*.

After the sacrifice has been made, the harvest commences. The rice is headed with small iron knives identical with those used in weaving, as razors, etc. (Fig. 1, *f*). The stalks are cut between the knife blade and the thumb, two or three at a time, and the heads dropped into a basket held in the left hand. The heads are often dried on mats in the sun before they are stored. No use is made of the straw, which is left to rot in the fields.

The granaries, *homby*, are small houses, shaped like miniature dwellings. The walls and floor are of split and interwoven bamboo and the roof heavily thatched with the leaves of the Traveler's Palm. They are always raised on smooth posts, to keep out the rats, but the height varies greatly. The average is about 6 feet, but some are as low as 4 feet, and others as high as 12 feet. There is a small door

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give each other sympathy in their affliction. If one was castrated alone, he would die of grief. The Betsileo have a similar belief, but I could not learn whether it was universal among the Tanala. 825

Most of the Tanala territory is poorly suited to cattle culture because of the heavy forest and constant rain. It is only along the western margin of their lands, where they border on the plateau, that one finds real grazing country. The Tanala herds are usually small and, although cattle have great social significance, they contribute little to the physical well-being of the people. They are only killed in connection with ceremonies, and the average Tanala does not taste beef once a month. Indeed, cattle killings are so rare that to dream of cutting or eating beef is a bad omen, presaging a funeral in the family. Hides are so little used that, until European traders provided a market for them, it was customary to cut up the animals without flaying them and cook meat and skin together. 233 311 [262] [787] [439]

The Menabe consider milk a luxury, and it is almost impossible to purchase it in their territory. It is a by-product, taken only when the cow seems to have more than enough to feed her calf. Milking, like everything else connected with cattle, is done exclusively by men. The explanation given for this is that it is a dangerous occupation. Actually, it is a laborious process, requiring three persons. One man holds the calf where the cow can see and lick it, another milks, usually squatting on the right side, and a third holds the cow's tail over her back and gently rubs her vagina with his fingers. The milk is boiled at once, while still warm. It is considered disgusting to drink it fresh. After boiling, it is either drunk or cooked with rice. 234 462 [252]

The Ikongo make more use of milk and are somewhat more expert at milking, although they use the same method. They rarely boil their milk. A little is drunk fresh, but most of it is deliberately soured. A little sour milk is always left in the milking gourd so that the new milk turns almost at once. The curds are eaten with a spoon and the whey drunk. None of the Tanala know how to make butter or cheese. 234 252 [264]

Apparently cow's milk was rarely if ever used to supplement or replace mother's milk in feeding nursing infants. The idea has recently been borrowed from Europeans, but it is still considered rather unnatural and is used only as a last resort. 853 177

The wheel and plow were unknown in Madagascar prior to European contact. The Tanala never use their cattle for draught or transport and this holds for the rest of the island, with one or two exceptions. The Imerina and Betsileo now use ox carts and 177 492

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226 [462] The spear and eel hook are employed only by men but both sexes fish with the hook and line, using long flexible bamboo poles. The ancient Tanala fish hook was made of iron with a single barb. It had a flattened shank with a groove around it for the attachment of the line. At the present time trade hooks have entirely replaced the native article. The lines are made from twisted raffia or bark fiber. Set lines are used for eels. The neighboring coast tribes employ double-pointed bone gorges with these lines, in place of hooks, but the Tanala claim that they have never used gorges. The Tanala Ikongo make a considerable use of nets, employing both dip nets and seines. The dip nets, *fisoroka*, are made in the form of a pocket, the sides being threaded over the arms of a forked stick. When a suitable fork cannot be found, the frame is made by splicing on a second stick (Fig. 2, f). The ends of the fork are connected by a heavy cord, so that the opening of the net is triangular. The seines, *herato*, are often quite large. The floats are made from pieces of light wood, apparently a species of hibiscus, and the weights from stones. The net material is the bark of various trees, *lelahena*, *aviavy*, *haro-fotsy*, etc., and two bushes, *tsipiaka* and *manasa*. The netting knot is shown in the accompanying sketch (Fig. 2, g). The Tanala Menabe say that they have had no nets until recent times and even now do not employ seines. Their dip nets are of two types, one like the Ikongo net already described, the other a sort of openwork basket woven from split vines. In the latter the ends of the forks are brought around and lashed together to form the rim of the weaving (Fig. 2, e). The dip nets are used for catching small fish in shallow water.

Two types of fish scoop (Fig. 3, a, b), are used by women for collecting small fish, larvae, etc. One of these is in the form of a half cylinder while the other is conical (see Matting and Basketry). There are also three types of fish trap: a cylindrical trap made from a roll of bark with a conical opening of bamboo splints (Fig. 3, f); a bottle-shaped trap made from split bamboo, with an entrance similar to that of the bark trap (Fig. 3, e); and a large, heart-shaped trap woven from split vines (Fig. 3, d) (see Matting and Basketry). The first two are used primarily for eels, the third for other fish. The traps are baited with cooked maize or manioc or with frogs, and left over night. Eels are often kept alive in cylindrical bamboo cages (Fig. 3, c).

Fish poisoning seems to be peculiar to the Tanala. I found no trace of it among either the plateau or coast tribes. The roots of the *rantomboka* tree are taken to the river and beaten on stones,

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276 All the Tanala employ tobacco in the form of snuff. To make this, a leaf is toasted over the fire until it begins to change color, then crushed to powder in a small mortar and mixed with a fixed proportion of sifted wood ashes. The ashes are prepared from several different plants and they, rather than the tobacco, seem to be considered the important ingredient. As a rule, each person makes his own snuff, mixing the ashes to suit his taste. It is made up a little at a time, as it is thought to lose flavor if kept. Snuff is carried in small boxes made from bamboo, horn, bone, or small gourds (Fig. 9, f, g, h, j, k, l). In taking it, a little is poured out on the palm and tossed into the open mouth with a quick movement. It is never snuffed.

It is doubtful whether the narcotic properties of hemp were known to the Tanala in pre-European times. A few of the younger men now smoke it in water pipes like those used for tobacco, but the practice is rare.

MANUFACTURES

DIVISION OF LABOR

• 462 The work of the family is rather evenly divided between husband and wife. The man takes complete charge of the cattle, hunts, cuts and burns the jungle for the *tavy*, does most of the fishing and builds the house and keeps it in repair. He is not expected to do any of the house work, but will often relieve his wife by helping with the cooking and tending the baby. The woman tends the house and children, cooks, draws water and pounds rice, the last two being heavy tasks. Both sexes work in the *tavy*, but women do most of the cultivation in the small gardens and in the fields of wet rice.

All manufactures are rigidly assigned to one or the other sex. Men do all the work in metal, wood, bone, horn and hide. They also weave certain types of mats and baskets and make bark cloth. Women make the balance of the mats and baskets, do all weaving of cloth, and make the family garments and keep them in repair. The only exceptions to this rule are the *sarombary* ("berdaches"), who adopt the women's industries as part of their role.

ARTISANS

[463] The only professional artisans are smiths and a very few stone-
326 cutters, who prepare the memorial stones. Smiths may be drawn
[428] from any gens and do not form a separate caste. The occupation tends to be hereditary, but anyone may enter it. There is no formal

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ends (Fig. 9, k). Bodkin-like bone points are used as head scratchers and also to disentangle the warp in weaving (Fig. 14, g). Women often carry them thrust into their hair, but they are not ornaments and are rarely decorated. Other long bone points are occasionally used as meat forks. The jawbones of oxen are often used in mat making, to smooth and polish the fabric (Fig. 12, g). 321 [413]

Bone is shaped with knives while still fresh and polished like horn. Both horn and bone objects are sometimes decorated with series of small incised circles, each circle having a dot in the center. These are made with a slender, forked, iron drill which is shaped like a heavy needle with the tip of the eye broken off. The drill is set in a wooden shaft about a foot long. The shaft is twirled between the palms. One point of the drill makes the central dot, while the other revolves about it and incises the circle. When on bone, the circles are usually rubbed with soot, to heighten the effect. [531] [413]

Hide is used for sandals, thongs, a few pouches and knife sheaths, and for skull caps. Of these, only the sandals are common. There is no tanning of any sort. The hide is roughly fleshed with a small knife, but the hair is usually left on. Sandal soles are cut from dry rawhide, the flesh side being worn next the foot. Thongs for attachment pass through holes in the edges of the sole and are knotted beneath (Fig. 11, b). Caps are made from the skin of an ox hump, dried over a form (Fig. 11, h). Pouches are usually rectangular, like boxes. They are made by drawing the fresh hide over a block of wood, folding it, and sewing the ends together. When it has dried, the block is removed but the stiffness of the hide keeps it in shape (Fig. 11, a, d). Knife sheaths are made in the same way. 281 [291]

The Zafimaniry occasionally tooled their knife sheaths and small pouches. The hide was first dried, then soaked in water until the hair could be rubbed off with the fingers. It was then bent over a wooden form, flesh side in, and sewed. Lastly, designs were pressed into the surface with a blunt point of hard wood or bone. A pouch and sheath decorated in this way are illustrated (Figs. 5, a; 11, g). The sheath may be of Betsileo manufacture. This type of decoration is now obsolete. 281 531

MATTING AND BASKETRY

285 462

Mats and baskets are the commonest of all Tanala manufactures. Every woman is expected to make those used by her own household. A bride spends the month before her marriage in making a supply, including one especially fine mat which she presents to her parents-

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in-law on arrival at her new home. Later, she constantly makes more as the old ones wear out and usually keeps an unfinished mat or basket to work on in her spare time, as our own housewives keep fancywork.

Only two techniques are employed in mat making, checkerwork and twilled work. The former is practically limited to the large, rigid mats of split and flattened bamboo which are used for house walls and floors. These are made exclusively by men. Large green bamboos are split lengthwise and flattened out by pounding them with a mallet. The strips, which are from 3 to 4 inches wide, are then interwoven and the ends trimmed off. Only one flexible mat woven in checkerwork was seen, a small square used as a dust pan (Fig. 18, c).

All ordinary mats (*sihy*) are twilled, the usual weave being over two and under two, although the number is varied for decorative effect. The twilled mats may be divided into two types, hard and soft. The hard mats are used for lining the walls of houses in the cold season (*fandambanana*), as floor coverings, sleeping mats, and, in many gentes, for serving cooked rice. The soft mats are used mainly for clothing.

The hard mats are made from several species of rushes, two varieties of fan palm, and, where it is available, pandanus. The rushes and pandanus are harvested just as the leaves begin to turn yellow. For palm mats the young, unopened leaves are taken. In both cases the material is cut into long strips, the midrib or other heavy portions removed, and the strips dried in the sun. When nearly dry, the strips are drawn between the thumb and the edge of a sliver of bamboo, to make them softer and more pliable. The thumb is protected by a cloth guard. The material is then done up in bundles and stored in the house until needed. In mat weaving, the worker sits on the ground with the work in front of her on another mat. No lapboard is used. In a few very fine mats the strips are probably moistened before weaving, but I never saw this done. From time to time the work is smoothed and flattened with a polisher. These polishers are usually made from the central portion of the lower jaw of an ox, but large shells of the cowrie variety and smooth river pebbles are also used. Bone polishers are sometimes decorated with incised circles (Fig. 12, g).

The Tanala hard mats are strong and well made but are, as a rule, of coarser weave than similar mats from the plateau. Those of pandanus are considered the most serviceable, with those of rushes

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one edge of the fabric. When the cloth is to be made into a woman's dress, the long strip which has come from the loom is cut in two and the ends of each half sewn together. The plain edges of the two sections are then sewn and the border appears at the top and bottom of the simple tubular garment.

Hafotra is a bast obtained from three different species of trees. All the Madagascar tribes use it for cordage, but its use for cloth is now limited to the Tanala and some of the neighboring Betsileo. The Imerina and Bara also made *hafotra* cloth in early times. The best *hafotra* is obtained from the *hafotra potsy*, inferior grades from the *hafotra keoka* and *hafotra ambany akondro*. *Hafotra potsy* is cream colored when prepared, the other varieties light gray. Trees 2 to 3 inches in diameter are cut into 4-foot lengths and the hard outer bark scraped away. The inner bark is then split lengthwise and taken off in a single sheet. This is done by men. The sheets of bark are taken to the village, where the women split them into ribbons about ½ inch wide. The bark is then boiled with water and wood ashes for about two hours and the mixture left standing for a day. It is then washed in running water and, while still wet, is picked into fibers suitable for thread. After this it is washed again, being kneaded on stones with the feet. It is wrung out and dried for a day in the house, never in the sun. A bundle of the still damp fiber is then hung on a hook or threaded through the links of a wooden chain (Fig. 16, e). The operator seats herself on the ground or on a low stool and bares her right thigh. The bundle of fiber is hung beside her, at about the level of her head. She draws down the fibers one by one and rolls them between the palm and the thigh, knotting on new fibers as needed. The finished thread is wrapped around two sticks set in the ground about 2 feet apart. When enough has been rolled to make a hank, it is removed from the sticks and laid aside to be dyed.

Even at the present time, only vegetable dyes are used for *hafotra*. The favorite color is blue, *engitra*, which is made as follows: Indigo is pounded to powder in a mortar and dried. Banana stalks and a plant called *ambiaty* are also pounded and dried, then mixed with dried grass of the variety called *tsipontina* and the whole burned to ashes. The ash and powdered indigo are thoroughly mixed in hot but not boiling water. The yarn is put in and left over night, while the mixture cools. It is taken out, wrung dry, then put in again and left for a day. After this it is washed in running water and dried in the house, never in the sun. The same solution is used

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The weaver sits flat on the ground with her legs extending forward under the loom and maintains the tension by leaning against the back rest. The position is tiring and the Betsileo give this as the principal reason for their abandonment of this type of loom. The weaver first inserts two laze rods, made from very thin splints of bamboo, then, when two or three threads have been woven and loosely beaten in, a strip of bamboo about an inch wide is passed through the warp and used as a base for beating in the rest of the weft. Each time the counter shed is to be formed, the heddle rod is slipped off the bamboo poles, the weaver releasing the tension by leaning forward. 286

When the cloth is nearly finished, narrow bands of very simple design are sometimes woven across the strip to serve as borders for the completed garment. In making these bands, needles, or simply the fingers, are employed, never the shuttle. The weft threads are carried across in pairs, passing over and under different numbers of warp threads. Twining is sometimes used in addition to true weaving. After the border has been made, the ordinary weaving is continued for an inch or more. The remaining warp is then cut and the cloth removed. The edges are turned in and sewed, to prevent raveling.

Newly woven *hafotra* cloth is stiff and harsh to the touch, and the colors appear dull. Before wearing, it is taken to a stream and beaten on a smooth stone with a cylindrical wooden club (Fig. 16, f). During the beating the cloth must be kept very wet and, if the water is too cold, the threads will not felt properly and may break, making holes in the fabric. Cloth that has been properly beaten has a smooth, glossy surface and bright colors. It is cold and somewhat slippery to the touch, like linen. The beating is always done by women. [462]

Hafotra cloth is principally used for *lambas* ("mantles") but loin cloths were formerly made from it and a few belts are still manufactured. 286 291

Lambas are made from two strips of cloth sewn side by side. At least 90 per cent of these show the same general pattern. The ground color, called *aditra*, is made from one of the shades of indigo. On this are arranged narrow stripes of red, purple, yellow, natural color and, if the ground shade is light, dark blue. A stripe of natural color is called *famotsy*, and a line of it *famotsy kely*. The other stripes go by their ordinary color names. Stripes of mixed color, always along one edge, are made by introducing alternate light and dark warp threads. In *lambas* of this pattern

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Among the Zafiakotry, the office may be held by either men or women. The new priest is, if possible, chosen from among the children of the deceased priest, but within this group the office is elective. The main requirement is a thorough knowledge of the rituals, but primogeniture seems to be important also. Thus, although men are usually preferred to women, in a choice between an eldest sister and her brothers the sister will be chosen if all are equally skillful. In the next generation, the children of the priest previously chosen will be given first consideration. This appears to be the commonest system among the Menabe, occurring in more than half of the gentes.

Priests hold office for life but, if they become old and infirm, may delegate their duties to some one else. Such substitution is temporary and does not affect the inheritance of the office. A priest may appoint three or four different persons as substitutes on different occasions.

Priests wear no special costume or distinguishing mark even when officiating, but must possess certain objects which are inherited from their predecessors. These are renewed without ceremony when they have been used up or worn out. The most important of these is the *hazomanga*. The term means literally "blue wood," but blue, being the color of the sky, is used in a figurative sense to indicate good or holy. The Zafindiamanana call it *hazomanitra* ("fragrant wood"). The *hazomanga* is a dry piece of the wood or bark of a tree having a strong aromatic odor, like camphor. This wood is thought to possess magical powers and only priests and *ombiasy* are allowed to keep pieces of it. Scrapings from it are used in all important sacrifices. Apparently it is considered a sort of seasoning which makes the offering more acceptable to the ancestors. The tree itself does not seem to be especially rare and is not sacred. Any one can cut it and pieces were formerly traded to the Betsileo, who have similar beliefs in regard to it. Among the Zafindiamanana only *ombiasy* may own *hazomanga*, loaning them to the priests for use in the sacrifices.

The priests also keep *alotafina* and *tanirano* or *rasorano*. The *alotafina* is a species of fungus growing on dead trees. It is used in a ceremony to avoid the bad results of discarding a charm. *Tanirano* or *rasorano* is white earth, used to mark people in various ceremonies. Among the Zafiakotry, and probably some other gentes, the priest also inherits a wooden bowl, used for serving the food cooked as a sacrifice, and a knife, used for scraping the *hazomanga*.

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X. AMUSEMENTS

Toys and Games

The Tanala have a number and a variety of toys. Although these are, in theory, used only by children, they seem to retain a certain lure for adults. I often saw grown men and women playing with the less strenuous toys when there were no children present and when they thought they were not observed. On seeing me, they stopped at once and seemed as embarrassed as an American parent caught under similar circumstances. 524

A few of the more complicated toys may be made by men, to please their children. However, most toys are made by the children themselves. In this, the boys from ten to fourteen seem to excel, displaying considerable ingenuity and a feeling for good craftsmanship. Girls rarely make toys. The use of various toys seems to run in cycles. At one time all the children in the village will be stilt walking, or playing with bamboo clappers, while a week later something else will have taken their fancy and not one of last week's toys will be in evidence. I believe the following list of toys to be fairly complete, for during my stay at Ambohimanga I was on excellent terms with the children and enlisted their help to round out my collection. [462] [123]

Tanala children are fond of noise-making appliances. The most efficient toy for this purpose is a bamboo clapper, made from a 5-foot section of the largest variety. One end of the bamboo is split back about 2 feet and the halves held apart by a wooden pin placed inside, a few inches back from the outer end. A cord is fastened to the center of this pin, passing out of the bamboo through a hole about halfway down. When the pin is jerked out with the cord, the halves come together with a report like that of a small rifle. This toy seems to be used mainly by the larger boys (Fig. 26, d).

The bull-roarer, tsiveoka, is used mostly by small boys from seven to twelve years old. It is made from a flat strip of bamboo about ¾ inch wide and 5 inches long, bluntly pointed at the ends. One end of this is attached to a slender stick by a cord about 2 feet long. The bull-roarer is swung round the head and makes a whistling, rushing noise of no great volume. It is sometimes used to frighten birds away from the standing crops, but has no ceremonial use or significance (Fig. 26, e). 534

534 The principal wind instrument of the Tanala is a flute, the *sodina* (Fig. 30, b, c). This is made from a section of bamboo about 2 feet long and ¾ inch in diameter, open at both ends. There are six evenly spaced holes. The finer specimens are often bound at intervals with rings of bark stripped from a sapling of the same diameter and drawn on while wet. Flutes may also have flaring, trumpet-like mouths made by attaching a section of hollowed-out horn or the stem end of a small gourd. These additions do not contribute to the effectiveness of the instrument and seem to be primarily decorative.

Bamboo whistles (Fig. 28, d) are now used as toys, but may well be of European origin.

Trumpets, *antsiva*, are important ceremonially. They are blown at funerals and sacrifices, and are used to give the alarm in case of attack and to summon the people to council. They are of two types: shell trumpets, which are universal in Madagascar, and bamboo trumpets, which seem to be peculiar to the Tanala. The shell trumpets are imported from the east coast and are highly valued. They are usually made from Triton shells and are often quite small, as little as 4 inches in length (Fig. 30, e). They are blown through a hole cut in the side a short distance below the apex. There is no mouthpiece. The bamboo trumpets are simple tubes about 1 inch in diameter and 6 to 8 inches long (Fig. 30, f). They are blown with a vibrating lip, like a bugle. An unskilled person cannot make a sound with them, but a trained one can blow a piercing blast audible *for over a mile*.

Drums are the main instruments used for dances. They are of two types, the *amponga* and the *kazo lahy* (lit. "male wood"). The *amponga* is beaten for social dances or simply for amusement. It is double headed, 18 inches to 2 feet in diameter and usually about 18 inches high. The body is a straight wooden cylinder, cut from a log. The heads are made from thin calfskin put on wet. They are held in place by double rings of heavy withes and elaborate lashings of rawhide (Fig. 31, b). In this type the heads cannot be tightened except by removing the whole arrangement of rings, etc., and replacing it, and this is rarely done. The *amponga* is beaten on one end only, the player using his hand or a short stick with a small ball of cloth on the end. It usually rests on the ground, although players sometimes carry it slung over one shoulder and hanging in front. It is played by both men and women.

[542] The *kazo lahy* are played only by men, who are usually at least semi-professionals. They are always played in pairs, the two drums